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troubles with Joe, who drank and had affairs with other women, Helen always attributed her troubles and unhappiness either to her loss of power or to the fact that she still had a little of it left. Years later she had pains in her back, and the doctor who worked on her gave a vague diagnosis which she interpreted in terms of her power.

An analysis of this case suggests that the following facts were important in influencing the doctors' diagnoses of Helen's illness: her father, her stepfather, and one of her brothers had power in bullets; Helen was young and still at the age when the acquisition of power usually takes place; and she could remember a recurrent dream about guns. Sorcery might have been given as the cause since there was so much tension between Helen and her in-laws, but she had carefully left Burns so as not to irritate them or come into contact with them. Undoubtedly there were personality factors which also entered into the doctors' decisions. When I knew Helen, she had been through twenty years of married life, and I think her personality had probably been somewhat changed by adversity. She was intelligent and affable, but shy, timid, and unrealistically afraid of many people. It is surprising that her power should have been in bullets, for, in the old days, this type of power was supposed to make its possessor a good warrior. Helen said many times, however, that before her illness at the time of her son's birth, she had not been afraid of anything.

One of the most consistent correlates of the diagnosis of disease caused by one's own power is the appearance in early life of a major affliction such as blindness or some other physical defect which is not lethal but which leaves the individual permanently handicapped.

Dick Jonas lost his sight when he was about twenty-five years old. One day, two years after the Harney Valley Paiutes had been moved to the Yakima Reservation, Dick was asked by one of the Yakima Indians to train a wild horse. He set out with a friend of his. On the trip his eyes suddenly became very inflamed and swollen, and he and his friend, who was already partially blind, had a hard time getting back to their camp. When he reached home a doctor was summoned and paid a new blanket to work on Dick. He told him that the eagle, Dick's spirit helper, was angry and was taking his sight away because Dick had not obeyed the dreams which he had had. The eagle had told Dick in a dream that he was to have power in bullets so that he would not be shot down. He told Dick to wear a tail feather, but Dick had not obeyed, so the eagle took the power away and punished Dick by making him blind.

Dick Jonas said that he had forgotten all about his dream until his eyes began to trouble him and the doctor worked on him. Then he had remembered the dream which he had had when he was twelve or thirteen years old. He had had the dream only once. The eagle had come to him as if it were real and had told him, "When an enemy comes near you, your body will shake all over and you will shout with

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ming pool. At about this time Fred went blind and his leg got much worse. I have no account of the actual doctoring when the diagnosis was made but all informants I spoke with agreed that losing the second bullet had caused these ailments.

When people who are known to have power subsequently suffer from some sickness, the explanation given is apt to be in terms of their power, unless they have been involved in some feud which would suggest sorcery or have had some experience which seems to indicate "ghosting." The case of Sarah has already been mentioned. Her arm swelled up; and when Dr. Thomas worked on her he stated that the swelling was caused by her own power which was angry because she had treated a sty in Jerry J.'s eye without first receiving proper pay. Mrs. Parker's sore arm was likewise attributed to failure to obey her power which demanded that she sing hymns on Sunday. Reference was made in an earlier chapter to J. Smith's long illness, which finally ended in his death, which he explained in terms of his own power. There are more cases of this kind reported than of any other type of illness. Nowadays when bullet proof power is of little value one of the few ways it manifests itself to the community is as a cause of the possessor's illness.

The stealing of breath by ghosts, the second explanation for sickness, is usually diagnosed when the patient reports that he feels faint or when he is unconscious or delirious. These symptoms are believed to indicate loss of breath. This diagnosis is also made when people are elderly. The reason given is that aged patients have many friends and relatives in the land of the dead who desire their company and therefore steal their breaths. It is thought to be dangerous to think of deceased persons, for this may have the effect of summoning them. Finally, the doctor is likely to diagnose "ghosting" if the patient reports bad dreams, particularly if they are about dead people.

It has been noted that when Dick Jonas was a young man his illnesses were never attributed to ghosts, but that twice after his sixtieth year such an explanation was given. In both the latter cases the ghost was identified as that of his deceased wife. In both instances the symptoms were faintness and delirium as well as old age.

Ellen was the person who suffered most frequently from "ghosting" during my stay at Burns. She was about seventy-six at the time and was living with her son, her daughter-in-law and her thirteen grandchildren. The conditions in the household were very bad. Her son was a dipsomaniac and could not keep a job. His wife and the older girls went out and did housework whenever they had the opportunity, which left Ellen the responsibility of taking care of all the younger children and particularly the two children that were mental defectives. In spite of all the work she had to do and the acute poverty which surrounded her, Ellen was one of the most cheerful and good-natured of the Paiutes. She was one of the few people who seemed to get on with all her neighbors and who was genuinely liked and admired by all. This was probably due in great part to the role Captain Harry, her deceased husband, had played in the community. As a young boy he had been captured by the

155 white soldiers and brought up in Fort Boise. During the Modoc war he served as a scout, and for the rest of his life he received a pension from the United States Government. He married twice before he returned to Burns, and Ellen did not become his wife until after the Paiutes had returned from Yakima. Captain Harry [622] became one of the leading men of the new community and was chief and doctor of the little group for the remainder of his life. He was also greatly respected by the whites. His affection for Ellen was evidently unusually strong, as many informants commented on the close and enduring attachment between the two.

[787] Ellen dreamed constantly and many of the dreams seem to have been about her former life and her dead husband. The community held that Captain Harry missed 765 her greatly and that she in turn was guilty of not forgetting him. Sometimes she 753 diagnosed the dreams herself and went through private rituals to get rid of the ghosts, instead of calling in a doctor.

Twice during my stay in Burns Ellen was treated for bad rheumatic pains and both times during the doctorings she reported that she had had bad dreams. Once a ghost laid its head on her breast. She could feel its breath on her face and tried to push it away. When she woke she felt sick and had a pain in her heart. Dr. Thomas worked on her and told her that the ghost had come in a whirlwind and embraced her around the waist. He drove the ghost away and advised her to perform certain rituals so that it would not come again.

754 In general, sorcery is diagnosed if there is a feud in the camp and the person 578 who is sick is either one of the parties involved in the dispute or is related to one of the parties, or if it is known that the sick person has either antagonized someone or been antagonized by someone. The person accused of sorcery, if he is not clearly indicated by the nature of the feud in which the patient or his relatives are involved, is usually a law breaker or someone who is generally unpopular; such a person is accused on general reputation rather than for any specific behavior at the time. A further condition which may be correlated with the diagnosis of sorcery is sudden death not preceded by a definite period of illness or obvious degeneration due to [753] old age. As we have seen, ailments and disabilities which develop slowly and linger on are most frequently explained as caused by one's own power; while death in old age is attributed to ghosts. An analysis of three cases in which sorcery was diagnosed will exemplify and clarify these points.

The case of Polly is probably one of the easiest to analyze because the motives for the accusation of sorcery were clear-cut and circumstantial. Polly, who lived in Fort Bidwell, died in the summer of 1934 after a very brief illness. The fact that Polly was a second cousin of Jane Simms indicated to everyone that she had been killed by sorcery in revenge for the death of the Porter boy. In the early part of the summer Mrs. Porter's two sons had been playing with Jane's son. They had set up nickels as targets behind the Simms' house and were shooting at them with a gun. During the game one of the Porter boys shot his brother. The Porters blamed

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the new land. Tom T. was one of the most vehement of the conservatives, whereas Paul Horn, having been hired by the government, was one of the first to move into one of the new houses. He moved down in the early spring and died late in August after a brief illness. Dr. Thomas, who was the only doctor in the new camp, worked on him when he was ill and stated that the illness was caused by sorcery. He did not name the sorcerer but most of my informants believed that it was Tom T. Several people remembered that Tom had told Horn that he would be sorry if he moved into the new camp, and this was interpreted as a definite threat of sorcery. Helen was the only one of my informants who did not agree with this diagnosis. She thought that it was really Mrs. Horn who had killed him, on the grounds that she was a sullen, unfriendly woman and that she had started living with another man as soon as her husband had died.

The death of Mr. M. is another example of a case diagnosed as sorcery. Mr. M. was a mild, conservative, and shy man who minded his own business and was not unpopular with the other members of the community. He was lame as a result of falling from a horse and breaking his hip, and could not get around rapidly, although he seems to have been able to walk at his own speed for long distances. He was married and had six children. Mrs. M. was a more dominant person and far from conservative in her younger days. She drank heavily and had affairs with other men. Some gossips said that one of her daughters was by a Negro who lived in Burns.

The M. household was far from a calm one. Mr. and Mrs. M. quarreled constantly. On several occasions the fights reached such proportions that the whole community witnessed them. One winter night Mrs. M. chased her husband with a club and knocked him unconscious. She left him where he fell. On another occasion the neighbors were awakened in the middle of the night by screaming and moaning. Pete, the eldest son, and his mother were beating Mr. M., who seemed unable to defend himself. The onlookers, fearful that he would be killed, finally separated the two men and tied both of them up. Evidently Pete and his mother often got drunk together and turned on Mr. M.

Mr. M. died quite suddenly when he was in his early fifties. According to Mrs. M.'s account he was sorcerized by Mrs. Porter, his own cousin, who had come to Burns after having been driven out of Fort Bidwell. (See the case of Polly reported above.) According to Mrs. M.'s story, her husband decided to take his family camping near Drewsey and Mrs. Porter said that she would like to come along with them, but Mr. M. told her that he did not want her. Mrs. Porter flared up and said that he would be sorry if he did not take her. Mr. M. set out, and while he was travelling he saw a snake. That night he dreamed that the snake was crawling around his throat and he awoke just as it was about to strangle him. The next morning he had a fever and they returned to Burns and summoned a doctor. Mrs. M. told the doctor that she thought that Mrs. Porter had done it because she was angry at Mr. M. and the

754 761 [626] after, Jane Simms' sister, who had been standing beside her at the funeral, died. The Porters were driven out of Fort Bidwell.

Arriving in Burns, the family was already under suspicion and it would have been very strange if they had not been accused sooner or later of using their sorcery power again. Several informants explained to me that they knew it would happen [763] because the Porters would get sick if they did not use their power. It was said that they both had been sick at different times because their power had told them to kill and they had not obeyed.

754 684 761 The first incident which was interpreted in terms of their power was the death of a Chinese man in the town of Burns. It was known that he made sexual advances to Mrs. Porter's daughter. One day Mrs. Porter caught him putting his hands on her daughter's breast. She evidently scolded him and threatened him. I imagine she felt safe in doing this as the Indian community would hardly blame her and no one would be motivated to retaliate. When he died some months later, all agreed that she had sent her power after him. The story was told that she had hit him with a pebble which contained her power. It was also stated that the Chinaman had swollen up before he died just as if he had bitten by a snake.

764 761 The death of Mr. M. has already been discussed; after it the Porters were accused and forced to leave Burns. It was also seen that Mr. M. was Mrs. Porter's own cousin and that she had been very fond of him. The circumstances preceding his death pointed to the fact that she had been angry with him because he would not take her to Drewsey when he went camping. There is also evidence that Mrs. M., perhaps out of jealousy and perhaps to protect herself, or for both reasons, saw to it that Mrs. Porter was accused. As a result of this incident the Porters were taken to Warm Springs.

They had been in Warm Springs about two years when this field work was done. I asked if they had used their power up there and several informants stated that they thought they had been better and were getting over their power.

● [155 208] In summary, Mrs. Porter's reputation seemed to grow in a snowball fashion. It started with the community's expectation that she would be mean like her parents. Undoubtedly her personality was formed both by her parents and by the community's reaction to her as the child of mean parents. The treatment she received probably made her over-aggressive. It obviously made her a good scapegoat. The suspicions and gossip about her were stamped by public approval after the Porter-Simms case, and the fact that the Porters left Fort Bidwell was interpreted as a confession of guilt. As a result they were open to any accusation of sorcery and had no protection against retaliation. When Mrs. Porter was accused of killing Mr. M., although the evidence was very flimsy, some people even saying that she was not guilty, she did not dare face the storm and she and her family left Burns.

754 Next to the Porters the T.'s were considered the most dangerous couple. In the

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Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T. tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the community would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way, but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his personality was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to, but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest, a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-five. After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation centering around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter, Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka sa gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

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when her husband beat her. T. senior was a respected man who had two wives. According to reports, however, he was feared by many because of his unbending will and strong convictions.

The T.'s had few friends. Only their immediate relatives ever had much to do with them. Tom's sister and his two children, Betty and Jack, were the only people who maintained a close relationship with them. The rest of the community avoided them.

The first definite accusation of sorcery made against Tom was the sickness of James Howard's young son, Gale.[8] According to reports Tom T., Sally, and James Howard had a quarrel over cards and Tom T. made the son ill. I have no further information concerning this case except that the Howards moved with Gale to Duck Valley to get away from the evil influence of Tom.

Interestingly enough the next accusation made against Tom was also connected with a card game and seems to indicate that he was extremely aggressive when playing competitive games. One Fourth of July there was a game in which Grace White, Tom T., and a Tenino woman were among the contestants. Grace White beat both Tom and the Tenino woman and laughed at them. Tom is reported to have lost his temper at Grace for taunting him. Grace died quite suddenly soon after this and her illness and death were attributed to bad power sent against her by Tom T. This accusation was readily accepted by the large group who had witnessed Tom's outburst of temper.

The last two accusations against Tom were made during the course of the field work and both were connected with the dispute about the land. Pedro died early in the spring of 1938. When I arrived at Burns that summer I was told that he had been killed by Tom T. Evidently, just previous to Pedro's departure to the new camp, Tom had tried to prevent him from moving, and, when Pedro could not be persuaded, Tom lost his temper and told him that if he moved it would be his end and that people would not see him any more. He added that "they would be getting gray for him soon," which may refer to mourning. No doctor worked on Pedro but several witnesses of the feud between Pedro and Tom circulated the report that he had obviously been sorcerized by Tom and most of the community accepted this interpretation of the death.

After I arrived, Paul Horn died and Dr. Thomas at the doctoring before his death accused Tom T. of having sorcerized Paul for the same reason. This case has already been discussed. It was the most overt accusation made against Tom, and was the first time, to my knowledge, that a doctor's diagnosis incriminated him. It was also the most widely accepted of the charges made against him.

Evidently, for the first time, Tom was really frightened by the situation, and, as

[8] Helen once told me that she thought Tom T. was responsible for the death of her father, but no one else seemed to believe this.

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754 578 Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home she seemed very kind to them.

[684] All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it. According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't let me marry anyone."

[155 328] Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself, that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad power.

157 754 578 Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she [164] had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp. Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied [832 837] and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

754 183 155 Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circulated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

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band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person.

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonorrhea. The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca. In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event. However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women. Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

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578 754 756 I asked how she knew this and she told me that once Hetty had been sick and Dr. Harry told her this when he worked on her. Both of these incidents were said to have occurred when Hetty was a young woman and I could get no further information about them. I do not know what type of behavior on Hetty's part called forth the accusation. When I knew her she seemed a well-adjusted, happy person and seemed to get along with her neighbors.

Helen told me that Mrs. M. had bad power in big black lizards. The evidence for this came again from Dr. Harry who worked on her when she was sick. He said that her own power was causing her illness, and that it was bad power in lizards and that she must either obey the power or he could take it away if she did not want it. According to Helen's report, Mrs. M. would not let him take the power away because "she was hungry for it." Helen went on to say that Mrs. M. had really killed her own husband although she had told everyone that Mrs. Porter did it.

Mrs. M.'s personality and behavior have been described in the previous chapter. Her relations with her husband, as reported, indicate how she came to be accused of having killed him. Her treatment of her husband, and her philandering and drinking habits may have been the reason for Dr. Harry's diagnosis but I do not [158] have enough evidence on this. When I knew Mrs. M., she had calmed down and her behavior was not noticeably aberrant. Neither she nor her daughters ever mentioned the fact that she had any kind of power, and when I directly questioned them, they stated that she had none. It would seem that in both Hetty's and her case, rumors concerning them went around at one time when their behavior antagonized the community, but that their present behavior was such that almost everyone had forgotten the accusations. This indicates that it is possible to live down a bad reputation by conforming more closely to the norms of behavior.

754 From the above cases one can make the following generalizations as to how a 155 person comes to be known as a sorcerer. First, one is accused of meanness and 528 having bad thoughts. This type of behavior is recognized by the community as often resulting from being brought up by mean parents, so that the children of men [157] or women already considered sorcerers or potential sorcerers are most closely scrutinized. Any mean behavior on their part is apt to be taken more seriously than comparable behavior on the part of others. Any behavior which is unfriendly, critical, or excessively aggressive is considered mean. Any behavior which antagonizes other members of the community is defined as aggressive.

[579] The second most important factor in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery is gossip. It is almost impossible to find a single individual in any community who has not been accused by someone at one time or another. But single accusations do not make one a sorcerer. Until the gossip has spread and been accepted by a large group it is not dangerous. A person who has many relatives and friends who will stand behind him and deny such gossip is much safer than a person who has few

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close relatives or has few friends. The groups within a community are based on family ties; but inasmuch as almost all the people in Burns were related in varying degrees, kinship is not the sole basis for cooperation. One's relations with more remote relatives depends on one's behavior, and kinship bonds are no insurance against accusations. The more people one antagonizes, the greater the danger of malicious gossip being spread. Tom T. antagonized half of the community at Burns by taking a very aggressive stand on the political issues, and by threatening those who disagreed with the policies he supported. Betty and Anne antagonized almost all the women by philandering with their husbands. The Porters reacted with disproportionate aggression against many different people, each of whom were supported by a group of close relatives and friends.

Given these two factors, the third important element is circumstantial evidence. A reputation for meanness and gossip cannot make a person a sorcerer unless some event occurs in which the person is involved to such an extent that it is possible to blame him. The death of Polly in the Porter-Simms case is a good example. There was a feud between the Simms and Porters. The Porters threatened the Simms and then one of the latter's close relatives died. This in itself could be used against the Porters. Even more evidence was brought to bear against them when it was remembered that Polly was standing by Jane Simms at the funeral of the Porter boy. In the same way Tom T.'s attempt to keep Pedro from moving to the new camp before Pedro's death was damning evidence. As one's reputation gets worse, the circumstantial evidence necessary for incrimination becomes more and more flimsy.

The fourth factor of great importance is the sanction of the doctor. It has been seen in a previous chapter that a doctor does not risk incriminating a person by pointing him out as the sorcerer until he is sure that he has the support of a large part of the community. When he does accuse a person of sorcery, it is an official seal and a very serious matter. By giving his sanction to the gossip and accusations which have been circulating about a person, he also gives social sanction to retaliation against this person.

The fifth factor of importance is the action of the person when the doctor puts the stamp of incrimination on him. If the individual reacts with strong fear and either avoids the relatives of the sorcerized person or flees from the community, he is considered to have confessed his guilt. If the situation is very tense and a man has many enemies, this is obviously the safest thing to do. Another course of action is to confess guilt, plead unwitting sorcery and bathe and call off one's supposed power. It is probable that this course of action is dangerous unless the person is just beginning to get a reputation for sorcery and unless the patient is likely to recover. The third course of action is to go about one's life as before, hoping that retaliation will not occur and that the reputation can be lived down. Nowadays, when the government forbids the murder of sorcerers, social ostracism and flight often follow the accusation of sorcery by a doctor. From the accounts, however, it

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762 154 578 155 The above analysis seems to indicate that the suicides of men are the result of strong feelings of hostility against all women because of the many sexual and other frustrations which they experience primarily with respect to their mothers and sisters. Inasmuch as any sexual advances to his real love objects, his mother and sisters, are prohibited, any sexual rebuff will add to the feelings of inadequacy which a man acquires as a defense against and a rationalization for his inability to get the sex object he wishes. In the cases cited above, the aggression seemed sometimes to be against the male rival but most often against the woman in her role of sexual frustrator. Furthermore, suicide is a way of expressing aggression directly against the girl who rebuffs him inasmuch as the family of the girl feels responsible if some man who is courting their daughter commits suicide. Generally they offer reparations to the boy's parents, whether they are demanded or not.

[865 867] In summary, with respect to both men and women, aggression within the family is strictly controlled. This control is taught in childhood by direct punishment. The child is instructed not to be aggressive toward his family or other people, to love his parents, stand by his siblings and be pleasant to outsiders. He observes that his parents are afraid to express aggression and show guilt about having mean thoughts and bad dreams. The fear of having bad power and unconsciously killing his own family is instilled in him. As a result all aggression against his family is inhibited. When it breaks through these inhibitions it takes the form of sudden and violent outbursts, most often against the spouse who is not so essential as parents and siblings. If it is not expressed in this manner or displaced outside the family it results in self-punishment in the form of guilt and suicide.

The constant fear of loss of help and support, in a society where the individual is dependent on his family economically and for protection, serves to strengthen the training in the control of aggression. As a result of the childhood training the mechanisms of control are highly internalized and may be said to function primarily as a part of the conscience. They are maintained, however, by the constant threat of aggression from people outside the family.

spirit helpers exactly who committed an offense even if they have no clues. This fear, like the fear of being accused of sorcery, also sanctions a myriad of minor aggressive acts which might antagonize a sorcerer.

These three fears—the fear of retaliation, of being accused of sorcery, and of sorcery itself—constitute the strongest motivation for behaving socially. Murder, assault, adultery, theft, and nonfulfillment of obligations are sanctioned by the fear of retaliation, the injured person and his family acting as sanctioning agents. Excessive retaliation and any anti-social behavior from impoliteness to adultery and theft are sanctioned by accusations of sorcery power. The sanctioning agents in this case are not only the family and relatives of the wronged person but the doctor and the community as a whole. This fear is backed up by the threat of retaliation in the form of mob violence led by the relatives of the wronged person should the accused really become known as a sorcerer. Sorcery itself sanctions any offense which is considered anti-social. The agent in this case is the sorcerer, who may be the person wronged or one of his relatives.

Besides these fears, which keep people from doing what they are not supposed to do, there are fears which prevent people from not doing what they are supposed to do. The most important of these is a person's fear that his own power will make him sick if he does not act as his spirit helper has instructed. A person singled out to be a bullet proof man and a warrior must behave in a fearless fashion and act as a leader in times of war or he will sicken and perhaps die. A person who is supposed to serve the community as a doctor must carry out this role. Good power is usually socially useful and puts an extra burden upon its possessor in his relation with the community. A man who gets this endowment must make use of it. Both the community and the doctor pass judgment on his behavior, but the doctor plays the most important role. In the diagnosis of disease he points out the people who are not living up to their potentialities, in so far as he tells them that they are sick from disobeying their own power. He also judges who should be rewarded by being known as a man with spiritual gifts. As in the case of accusations of sorcery, his word gives authority to community gossip.